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MISCELLANEOUS.

—389—

Picture of Mexico.

MEXICO—GRIEVANCES—PROGRESS OF THE REVOLUTION THERE, AND CHANCES OF ITS SUCCESS.

(From the Scotsman, Sept. 8.)

We have an unerring and melancholy proof, in the past and present condition of society in those regions, of the pestilential influence of the Spanish Government. It has, in every way, tended to depress and brutalise the people; to cut off all means of improvement; to destroy in its infancy every germ of melioration, and to deprive them of the many physical blessings which their great country afforded them.—*Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution.*

So little intelligence reaches us from Mexico, and that little, passing through interested hands, comes in so vague and doubtful a shape, that the struggle for independence which commenced there in 1810, and has been continued to the present day, has probably escaped the recollection of most of our readers. From various circumstances we anticipate that the contest will soon assume a more decisive character, and that important news may soon be expected from that quarter. A recent article in a Spanish paper informs us, that the patriots under two chiefs had extended their communications quite across the kingdom, from Acapulco to Vera Cruz, a distance of 300 miles; and the writer adds, that in the opinion of the whole peninsula, *Mexico must be lost*. And a still more recent article shews, that the Government is put to its utmost shifts for means to oppose the insurgents. One of the chiefs alluded to is GUADALOUPE VICTORIA, whose final discomfiture has not only been often announced, but whose death, as we learn from a book just published, has been twenty times notified in the Mexican Gazette*. The same authority has repeatedly assured the world, that the insurrection was entirely suppressed; and there is no doubt that both these pieces of intelligence were equally authentic.

The fine country of Mexico, which has had its resources locked up by the ignorance and avarice of a handful of Spaniards is about six times as large as the British isles. Its soil is equal to that of the United States, and its climate, except upon the sea coast, is decidedly better. It has few navigable rivers, and few good ports on the Atlantic; but its western shores afford the best harbours in the Pacific ocean, and its commercial position is altogether excellent. Though a great part of it is within the tropics, it is only the sea-coasts and the vallies which have a tropical climate; while its table land, which forms two-thirds of its surface, in consequence of being elevated 6000 or 8000 feet above the sea, enjoys the climate of the temperate zones. Hence the wheat, barley, and rye of Europe grow in the same districts with the sugar-cane, cocoa, and banana of the torrid zone. Its mines of the precious metals are well known to be the most productive in the world. With all these advantages, and with a surface capable of supporting a hundred millions, its whole population, af-

ter three hundred years, of undisturbed existence as a colony, only amounted, in 1804, to 5,800,000, of whom 2,500,000 were Indians: 2,200,000 Mestizoes, (a mixed race of Spanish and Indian blood,) and 1,100,000 whites. Of the whites, Mr. ROBINSON informs us, about 60,000 are European Spaniards, the rest are Creoles, or the children of Spanish families settled in Mexico.

Mexico suffered from the grand evil which afflicts all colonies—that of having its concerns regulated with a view not to its own benefit, but the benefit of a distant country.—But what aggravated the evil greatly in this case was, that the Government which regulated its affairs, was more ignorant and more corrupt than any other possessing such a charge. If the Spanish Government misunderstood the interests of the people who were under its own eyes, and trampled on their rights, it is obvious that the effects of this ignorance and oppression must have been multiplied tenfold to the Mexicans. The direct restrictions on the trade and industry of Mexico were not perhaps literally more severe than those to which other colonies were subject, but they were substantially much worse, because a monopoly in favour of the ignorant and indolent merchants and manufacturers of Spain, was infinitely more grievous than one in favour of the skilful and active classes of the same kind in France or England. The Mexicans were forbidden to cultivate the vine, the olive, or the mulberry, though their climate is well adapted for them, lest the market for the wine, oil, and silk of the mother country should be lessened. Tobacco, an article in universal use, was a royal monopoly. Some species of manufactures were prohibited, as an instance of which, Major PIKE mentions, that a native of the United States, settled in Mexico, narrowly escaped being hanged, for *making a pound of gunpowder*. In consequence of monopoly prices, duties, and bad internal communications, the greater part of European commodities are four or six times their original price in the interior of the country. The taxes are not only heavy but vexatious in their nature, and destructive to industry.—Tithes are exacted with such rapacity, that they are extended to bricks for building. These are decisive indications of an oppressive system; but the grievance which touched the Mexicans most sensibly was the needless multiplication of offices, and the filling of these with European Spaniards to the exclusion of the Creoles and other natives of the country. The natural riches of the country, with the industry, property, and intelligence of the inhabitants, were considered as a fund for filling the pockets of the minister, providing for the worthless menials of the Court, and gratifying the avarice or vanity of royal or ministerial favourites. “Every office in America, from that of Viceroy down to that of a menial dependant of the custom-house, was publicly sold; except in a few instances in which they were bestowed on the servants of the Prince, as a premium for their intrigues, or, as it was styled, to reward their fidelity to their royal master or mistress. A majordomo of the royal household has been elevated to the government of an American province; and there have been intendants and judges of the Real Audiencia, the highest judicial tribunal in America, who were men known in Spain for their vices only, or as panders to the passions of the Queen and the Prince of Peace.”—(ROBINSON, I. p. 11.)—We have heard of OLIVER the spy being lately appointed to a lucrative situation at the Cape of Good Hope; and it may well be supposed that a Court like that of Spain had many dependants of a character too low and infamous to allow them to fill offices under the eyes of their countrymen, who might yet be provided for in Mexico. This

* Memoirs of the Mexican Revolution, including a narrative of the expedition of General Xavier Mina, by W. Robinson, 2 vols. 8vo, 1821. The narrative of Mina's expedition, which is collected from eye witnesses, is well written, circumstantial, and extremely interesting. We are glad that it has been published, as a means of rescuing the memory of that gallant, generous, and patriotic youth from oblivion. Mr. Robinson is a citizen of the United States, and his work breathes that warm zeal for the liberties of mankind, which an American, above all other men, ought to feel. The facts stated in this paper are taken from Mr. Robinson's book, from Humboldt's work on Mexico, and from Pike's Travels.

swarm of judges, magistrates, bishops and tax-gatherers, having procured their places by their money or their vices, came to govern a people of whom they were ignorant, and whom they held in contempt. Their gain being derived in many cases from fees, perquisites, or gratuities, they find pretexts for intermeddling in every transaction that they may extort money, and avail themselves of every official duty to practise impositions. A Viceroy, with a salary of £13,000 per annum, has in a few years amassed a fortune of £300,000, and this in a country where there are no nabobs to plunder. It may easily be conceived that the inferior functionaries are not less diligent in their sphere. The tax-gatherer, the magistrates, and the judge, are all banded together by their common interest in peculation, and to seek redress from the one for the injustice of the other, is but for the individual to expose himself to fresh injury. It need not surprise us, in such circumstances, that functionaries, great and small, "abuse their power, exert it capriciously, or for selfish purposes, convert it into an instrument of vengeance, or an engine of extortion, exceed the limits of their lawful authority, and have even been known to impose general taxes without orders from home." The only checks which could restrain the abuse of power in Mexico do not exist. Complaints to the supreme authority in Spain can only be made through the medium of the very persons whose misconduct is complained of. General knowledge is at a low ebb; for though the government has patronised the physical sciences and the fine arts, common schools are rare, and the spread of literature is dreaded. The press cannot be said to exist, for there is but one newspaper in the country for the six millions of inhabitants, and this paper is published under the immediate control of a vigilant and jealous government. To crown these evils, the inhabitants, even those of Spanish blood, have the mortification to see all offices of trust, honor, and emolument, filled by foreigners, and themselves treated as an outcast and degraded race. Of one hundred and sixty Viceroys, only four have been Creoles, and these had washed out the stain of American birth by an education in Old Spain, and owed their elevation to connexions in the Peninsula.

Mexico and the United States are contiguous portions of the same territory, possessing the same natural advantages, and they present, in striking contrast, the effects of the opposite extremes of bad and good government. In the former, a few individuals, with overgrown fortunes, and estates equal to European provinces, riot in boundless luxury, surrounded by half-famished multitudes, who have scarcely clothes or shelter. The city of Mexico contains 30,000 beggars; and every deficient crop is attended with the destruction of some thousand lives, though there are millions of acres of the richest soil unoccupied. In the United States, a hundred or a thousand men are not humbled and degraded, and stripped of the fruits of their labour, to feed the vanity, and pamper the appetites of one individual; a famine or even a scarcity never occurs: beggary and enormous wealth are equally unknown; but just laws spread abundance and security through the whole society. Wages are the gage of the labourer's condition; and in the United States, the labourer receives a dollar a-day, while in Mexico he receives only one-fourth of that sum, though all commodities are dearer. In the one country you find knowledge and freedom, with the fruits of these, industry, enterprise, happiness, and improvement. Step over the boundary line, and though the climate is still genial, the soil fertile, and nature in every thing the same, you find only ignorance oppression, torpor, and misery. If we add the half of the mixed race to the whites, the whole Mexican population of European blood, in 1804, would not exceed 2,200,000. The United States were colonized ninety years later than Mexico, and under more unfavourable circumstances; but by the time they have run the same period of existence, it can be shown that they will have a white population of seventy millions. Can there be a more decisive proof of the pernicious influence of the Spanish misrule in cramping the progress of improvement?

Profound ignorance long kept the people quiet, if not satisfied under their grievances. But Creoles, Mestisoos, and even Indians, have at last opened their eyes to their wrongs, and come to believe that they may exist for some better purpose than to

serve as beasts of burden to a few insolent and rapacious foreigners. The revolutionary movements began in 1810, have never been entirely suppressed. The first attempt under HIDALGO, and the second under MORELOS, failed only in consequence of the want of arms. In the latter stages of the war, the mutual jealousies of the patriot chiefs have been the greatest obstacle to their success. But the independent cause has also been injured by the cruelties and violence of partisans who retaliated with too little discrimination the barbarities of the Spaniards. This conduct disgusted and alarmed the Creoles, and not only cooled their affection to the cause, but induced many of them to support the government. A war carried on by partisans, without consent or union, is never likely to overthrow the government; but if we may judge from the few details lately received, the patriot chiefs have combined their operations, and are now acting on a very extensive scale. The effects produced by MINA's expedition show that the military strength of the Spaniards in Mexico is much less formidable than has been imagined. This gallant and enterprising youth, with 270 men, penetrated 600 miles into the country amidst large bodies of military. With this small force he attacked and defeated 1700 Spanish regulars at Peotillo; and at the battle of Lenos, he killed, wounded, and took prisoners, a number of the enemy equal to twice the amount of his own troops. He miscarried chiefly in consequence of the jealousy of the native chiefs, and the want of a supply of arms; but even his failure proved the feebleness of his adversaries, since, with so insignificant a force, he spread alarm throughout the whole country. The low idea his partial successes give of the Spanish Mexican troops is confirmed by Major PIKE, who says "that with 500 of the United States infantry, and a proportion of horse artillery he would march over a plain in the face of 5000 of the Spanish dragoons," (p. 382.) In fact, Mr. ROBINSON asserts, with the utmost confidence, "that had MINA landed with 1500 or 2000 soldiers, instead of 270, in any part of the Mexican kingdom, he could have marched direct upon the city of Mexico, and overturned the Spanish Government almost without a struggle." (I. p. 94.)

The emancipation of Mexico, however, is only retarded, not defeated. The seeds of revolution have been gradually ripening within the country. The long agitations of internal war have spread those ideas through all classes which were at first confined to the breasts of a few. The example of the other Spanish colonies struggling for independence, must tend to shame the Mexicans out of their apathy; and the noble conduct of the Spanish military at home must encourage the Mexican army to become the champions, instead of the enemies of public liberty. Fortunately the Priests, a most influential class in all ignorant countries, are generally favourable to the patriot cause. Consisting chiefly of Creoles, who find themselves denied all hope of rising to the higher places of their profession, by the accident of their birth, they naturally hate a system which subjects them to such injustice. "There is no part of the Mexican population," says Mr. ROBINSON, "which has more ample cause to desire or in secret does more earnestly pant after a change of government than its native clergy." Major PIKE, speaking of the Priests, says he scarcely ever saw one who was not in favour of a change. In fact, HIDALGO, MORELOS, and many other leaders of the patriots, have belonged to that order. The same sentiments prevail among all classes, except the native Spaniards, and even among some of them. Major PIKE, who traversed the country as a prisoner of war in 1806, remarks, that priests, lawyers, soldiers, and civil officers, all seemed desirous of seeing a better order of things established. The happiness and freedom of the United States broke like a new light upon their understandings; and individuals came by night to his bed-room, to gratify their ardent curiosity, with accounts of institutions, which filled them with wonder and hope. But what is most likely to ensure the subversion of the Mexican government—the native Spanish troops have been greatly reduced by the continued wars, and the Viceroys have been compelled to place arms in the hands of the Creole population. Mr. ROBINSON asserts, that the whole number of Spanish European troops did not at a very late period exceed 4,800. The Creoles, now embodied as soldiers, will not forget their past

wrongs, nor suffer with patience the same injustice as in former times. Many of them have been in the insurgent armies, and are royalists only by necessity or accident, and nine tenths of them are impatient to abandon the royal standard. "I consider, in fact," says the author last quoted, "every Creole regiment at present in Mexico, under the Spanish standard as training for the establishment of the future freedom of their country."—"On the first occasion that they find a rallying point in a moderate force of disciplined foreign troops, with judicious leaders, they will use the opportunity to effect the independence of Mexico" (II. p. 141. 147.) In short, to borrow our author's concluding words, "Mexico will—she must be free: for the seeds of independence have already been scattered there upon the mountain, and in the vale; they are now germinating; they will strike deep roots into the earth, for they are watered with the tears of oppressed millions; they will flourish till their strength shall laugh to scorn the fiercest blasts of opposition; and then beneath the secure and cloudless sky of liberty, they will grow a beauteous grove whose shade shall refresh no heads but those of freemen."—*Scotsman*.

Signora Pezuela.—The NEW FREDERICK, Captain Rundle, sailed from the river yesterday morning, (Sept. 14) for Southhead to take on board for Cadiz, Signora Pezuela, wife of the late Viceroy of Peru.

Mr. Young.—Covent-garden Theatre during the recess has been entirely repainted and newly decorated, and we are assured will positively open on Monday the 24th. Mr. Young, who has renewed his engagement, will then make his first appearance in *Hamlet*. Several new pieces and new performers are promised.

Canova.—Private letters from Greece state, that the celebrated Canova has sent 200 workmen to restore the Parthenon at Athens.

Milford, Sept. 11.—I dropped you a hasty line on Sunday last, to inform you of the arrival of the Royal Squadron at Milford Haven, with the King and suite on board. The ROYAL GEORGE yacht, on board which was his Majesty, anchored about half-past 12 o'clock, with the ROYAL SOVEREIGN (Royal yacht) ACTIVE and LIFBY frigates, HIND and WOLF sloops of war, and several Admiralty and Revenue cutters and private yachts, off Milford. On Sunday evening there was a pretty general illumination, which was repeated on Monday night, with the addition of the discharge of cannon, exhibition of flags, display of fireworks, &c.

Milford was, in a short time after the arrival of the Royal fleet, crowded with spectators from different parts of the country and the neighbouring towns: that part of the harbour was literally covered with yachts, pleasure-boats, &c., which were crowded by the many persons who were anxious to see their beloved Sovereign; but they were unfortunately disappointed, from the reasons stated in the following extract of a note addressed by Commodore the Hon. Sir Chas. Paget to H. Leach, Esq. Collector of his Majesty's Customs at Milford, dated yesterday, 5 P. M.—"Sir Chas. Paget cannot conclude this note without sincerely lamenting that the temporary indisposition of his Majesty from sea sickness, should have prevented the King from appearing on deck, and personally acknowledging to his loyal subjects his satisfaction at their warm congratulations on his arrival at Milford Haven."—Last night the wind shifted from the southward to the northward of west; at about half past four this morning the signal was made, and the ships got under weigh at five, and worked down the harbour with a fine breeze at N. N. W.; at half past seven the ROYAL GEORGE was clear of the harbour, and at eight the whole of the squadron was out of it, with a fresh breeze at W. N. W., which will enable them to steer their course to the Land's End; the morning is very fine, and a prospect of a pleasant passage most favourable: the spectacle was magnificent.

The only accident which has happened was at the village of Dage, where the inhabitants were testifying their loyalty by the discharge of a piece of cannon; unfortunately it burst, and killed a poor pilot, of the name of William Hall, on the spot; he has left a family to lament his loss.—*Bristol Gazette*.

Irish Shearers.—At Whittingham fair there were a great number of Irish shearers, when, on occasion of one of them having received an affront by a Scotsman breaking his pipe while smoking, the whole of the Irish rose and paraded through the fair, knocking down men and women indiscriminately with their shillelachs for some hours, when Capt. Ker of the Coquetdale Rangers, threatening to bring his troop of horse, they thought proper to decamp in small parties in various directions, after several people were seriously wounded. We are happy to say that no lives were lost.

The King.—It was expected that the very boisterous weather which the King had experienced, and the continuance of the gales, would have induced his Majesty to disembark at Milford and travel by land, up to town, but our letters of to-day seem to contradict this supposition. Our Milford correspondent says, that the King is not merely *so good a sailor* himself, but is so pleased with the zeal and activity of the whole of his squadron, that he has determined to give the naval service the additional proof of his confidence and favour, by adhering to the intention of making the passage by sea, as long any hope remains of the ships being able to beat round.—*Courier*.

Nottingham.—Great laughter was lately excited, in one of the principal streets in Nottingham, by a man who was crying some papers, professing to give an account of the dreadful proceedings at Knightsbridge barracks, "where soldiers, armed with drawn swords, rushed into the street, for the purpose of killing the corpse which was going to be buried!"

Auspicious Nuptials.—On Tuesday (Sept. 4) was married at Launceston, by the Rev. John Rowe, Mr. Samuel Wakey to Miss Marry Heanes, both of the parish of Kilkhampton. There was something so unusual in the behaviour of this young couple, so strangely at variance with the affectionate attention that young persons under similar circumstances manifest towards each other, that we cannot help noticing their conduct. As soon as the Clergyman had pronounced the nuptial benediction, the bride and bridegroom, by mutual consent, quitted the church by different doors, the bridegroom having first informed his bride, that he had no convenience to take her with him, and that she must follow by the first conveyance she could find. They then separated, when the man went about his ordinary business, and soon afterwards left the town.—*Cornwall Gazette*.

Modern Delilahs.—Our readers, "Jews and Gentiles," know how Sampson of yore was at once robbed of his strength and beauty as he slept on the lap of the false Delilah; but they have yet to learn that it was reserved for the authorities of Boston, in the 19th century, to avenge the wrongs of this terror of the Philistines upon the Delilahs of modern days. We have received information that three young women—fair as fair we take it—have recently been shorn of their tresses and ringlets by the commands of the personages alluded to; upon two of them the depilation was performed in the goal, and upon the third in the public police office. The latter was taken into custody on a Wednesday (market day), and confined till the following Friday, when she was brought before "the elders," and the sudden appearance of a barber's boy, perhaps, suggesting this novel mode of punishment, the necessary order was given, and the sufferer, mangro her tears and intreaties, was in an instant robbed of her flowing "heart-breakers."

"Fate urged the shears,
The meeting points the sacred hair dis sever,
From the fair head, for ever and for ever."

One Magistrate protested against this new "rape of the lock," and left the office in high dudgeon at the conduct of his brothers in authority. It is presumed the alleged motive for the deprivation was to render the unfortunate objects less attractive; and so far "we, the Magistrates" have a high sanction in the example of that good man Caligula of old. He, we are told, "caused all who were handsome and had a thick head of hair grown out into a comely length, to be shaved on the hinder part of the head; he loved to disfigure them!"—*Stamford News*.

Lines,

*Copied from a rock, standing on the side of the river, in the pleasure grounds of M. de la Motte, near Clisson, in Brittany: supposed to be written by Abelaud.**

O limpide riviere! O riviere chérie!
Puisse la sotte vanité,
Ne jamais de daynes ta rive humble et fleurie;
Que ton simple sentier, ne soit point fréquenté
Par aucun tourment de la vie:
Tel que l'ambition, l'envie,
L'avarice, et la fausseté.
Un bocage si frais, un séjour si tranquille
Aux tendres sentiments doit seul servir d'asyle;
Ces rameaux amoureux entrelassés exprès
Aux muses, aux amours, offrent leur voile épais,
Et le cristal d'une onde pure
A jamais ne doit réfléchir
Que les grâces de la nature
Et les images de plaisir.

IMITATED.

O gentle, lovely river, by whose side
I've wiled, in pleasing thought, the lonely hours,
Ne'er may the tread of worthless base born pride
Pollute thy banks, disturb thine humble flow'rs.
Ambition, avarice, falsehood's sordid train,
Each, as ye list, your varying ills pursue.
Ne'er may your feet this simple path profane—
Grant me but this—the world I leave to you.
A bower so fragrant, so tranquil a shade,
For th' asylum of feeling—for pleasure was made;
The branches o'erpreparing in amorous twine,
Extend o'er the muses a foliage divine.
And the pure waves reflect
As they gracefully move,
The beauties of nature
The image of love.

Inner Temple.

C. H.

From a Correspondent.—A Gentleman just returned from France, thinks it a duty he owes to his countrymen, to acquaint them, by every possible means that, in consequence of a law passed very recently, no more, once landed in France, under whatever circumstances, can be reimported. A similar law has long been in force respecting entire horses, and still continues so. The above Gentleman was detained at Calais nearly a fortnight, in the hope of obtaining some mitigation of this unjust act, by a petition addressed to the Director-General of the Customs, at Paris, but in this he was disappointed, his answer being that the law could not be infringed in his favour. It may be superfluous to remark, that the law now existing has a particular prospect to the detention of English mares, by which France is desirous of improving her breed of horses. The English, generally, appear ignorant of this law; and even at the Custom-house at Dover, the Gentleman who writes this was shewn the French tariff of the customs of 1814, to shew that the prohibition extended to stallions only.—*Courier.*

Balloon without Gas.—The JOURNAL DES DEBATS of Sunday (Sept. 9) says, "An experiment was made a few days since, in the garden of Tivoli, with a Balloon which was filled and raised without any combustible matter, gas, or apparatus. It was exposed empty to the rays of the sun, and their action determined the atmospheric air into the Balloon, which was thus completely filled. It acquired at the same time an essential impetus, and when abandoned rose of itself. The construction of the Balloon is contrived that it may receive the greatest advantage from the action of the sun; the upper part is transparent, the middle black, and the lower part gilt outside and black within."

* Pallet the birth-place of Abelaud, and the retreat of Heloise during the early part of her separation from him, is a small village, about three miles from Clisson: the beauty of the scenery exceeds the description of the pen, and might defy even that of the pencil. If any thing could increase the delightful serenity with which the mind is filled, in wandering over this charming spot, it is the recollection, that Heloise here passed that portion of her life, in which her soul was devoted to an attachment rarely equalled, never surpassed: pitiable indeed, is the heart which could remain amid these scenes, and not feel, that society would be an intrusion—that he had left the world, its cares and vanities at a distance.

Press in India.

We have been unable to find room for the whole of the long Letter of CARNATICUS, on the Indian Press, from the Asiatic Journal for October:—but subjoin a few of the most striking paragraphs, to shew that the Writer scarcely deserves, or, indeed, needs refutation:—

"It is only in large and mixed classes of society that the liberty of the press can be granted with safety,—in extensive mercantile bodies or corporations, where the contending interests of the whole make room for the espousal or vindication of asserted rights or immunities: but in India, where the character of the Government is monopoly, the conduct of that Government uniform and consistent, sanctioned and carefully watched by the Supreme Council of the nation, its principal community, in its civil and military branches, in strict obedience and dependance on that Government; the opening of a source for the assertion or discussion of pretended privileges or rights through a free press, must only tend to weaken the springs of Government, to distract its public servants, and bring into contempt and disregard with the natives the dignity and strength of our Government. In such a freedom of discussion, what is to prevent any of our public servants, or others, from arraigning the conduct of the Government? from publicly questioning the validity of such and such compacts, the justice or necessity of such and such treaties, the fitness of such or such a policy? We cannot in India bear to be scrupulously catechised as to the title or legitimacy of our possessions or sovereignty in that quarter. Discussions on the exclusive monopoly of the Company, strictures upon the several Governments, upon our conduct towards Native Powers, or politics in general, would afford ample room to the caviller for the use of his pen, and shortly disseminate throughout India a spirit of feeling and general sentiment hostile and obstructive to the best and fairest interests of nation.

"In 1813, immediately after the arrival of Lord Moira in Calcutta, he had all the native officers of the Presidency introduced to him in the Government house, paid many compliments to them, and gave them the strongest assurances of his regard and confidence. They immediately afterward became inflated, in consequence of such attention having been paid them, in many cases refusing to salute European officers unless of their own corps. They were the leaders shortly afterwards in resisting the embarkation for Java; and when they got there, they alone were the plotters and instigators of a conspiracy to murder their officers, and seize the reins of government in Java and the islands.

"In my opinion, a mixed military and even arbitrary government is the fittest form of rule for India. This tempered with justice and moderation, and carefully guarded by the Civil Authorities, can render to the people of India every right, and all the privileges they can aspire to at present. The people of India themselves are unequal to the charge or regular administration of affairs. They must not only have us to direct and controul their actions and conduct, but even to give energy and weight to any measure of difficulty or alarm; and then there are so few of us in that vast country, that it becomes necessary to have these armed with a superior authority and command, to uphold public order and the confidence of the people. This remark applies merely to the civil controuling Authorities. To subject our highest Authorities to the animadversions of those about them and under them in India, will be but to weaken the strength of our administration in that quarter, to reduce the dignity of our Government in the eyes of the natives, and to subject to contempt and disregard the first and leading functionaries in our service.

"So much for the natives: now a word for people of our own colour, and the settlers and adventures above alluded to. If the liberty of the press is granted to India, what is to prevent the numerous European community, extra of the King's and Company's Service, from forming into associations for the purpose of petitioning or asserting such and such rights and privileges? from bringing into discussion the merits of the charter or the monopoly? from demanding, as British subjects, the right to purchase landed property, and to reside in India? These will lead to other demands and speculations, and in the event of the charter (which I hope will not be the case) not being renewed on its ensuing expiration, those pretensions would be strengthened, and extend with such rapidity, that it is impossible to foresee the end of them. Factories may grow out of Factories, corporate bodies out of these, and a spirit of colonization be encouraged at the principal settlements. The want of India is every thing to Europeans: we depend upon it for many of the necessaries and all the luxuries of life; and that Power which shall predominate on the coast of India will for ever likewise predominate in the interior.

"The degree of latitude to the press in India that might be granted with safety, and should as a general rule (unless under very particular cases) be rendered not subject to the censorship, would be the republication of all English publications and papers, debates in parliament, and in fine extracts from all works published in England: but it will be hazardous and unwise in every respect to give a wider range for the local liberty of the press than that which at present exists. In my apprehension, a wider one will be only to weaken the reins of Government, to distract its purposes, and prejudice in every way both public and private harmony of action in that country."

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Lima Gazette.

Supplement to the Gaceta del Gobierno, October 17, 1821.—Translated for the Calcutta Journal.

PROVISIONAL CONSTITUTION.

Given by the Protector of the Liberty of Peru, for the better government of the Free Districts, until the permanent Constitution of the State be established.

In taking upon myself the sovereign command under the title of Protector of Peru, my intention has been to lay the foundation on which those ought to build who are called to the high destiny of rendering mankind happy. I have charged myself with the whole authority that I may answer for it to the whole nation. I have candidly declared my intentions that all may judge of them according to the results; and from the field of battle where I sought the glory of destroying Oppression joined with my companions in arms, I have come to place myself at the head of a difficult administration, attended with vast responsibility. The motives of the resolution which was adopted on the 4th of August were deeply written on my heart, and the Constitution to which I am to swear this day will explain and sanction them at the same time.

I might have magnified the liberality of my principles in the Provisional Constitution, making splendid declarations regarding the rights of the people, and increasing the number of public functionaries, to give an appearance of a more popular government than the actual forms now do. But being convinced that the superabundance of laudable maxims is not, at first, the best method of establishing them, I have limited myself to practical ideas which may and must be realised.

While enemies exist in the country, and until the people acquire the first notions of governing themselves, I shall administer the directive power of the state, whose attributes, without being the same, are analogous to that of the legislative and executive power. But I shall abstain from even interfering in the sacred exercise of the judicial functions; because the independence of the judge is the only real safeguard of the liberty of the people; and a display of maxims exquisitely philanthropic go for nothing when he who makes and who executes the law, is also the person who applies it.

Before requiring of the people the oath of obedience, I proceed to swear in the face of all, to observe and fulfill the Constitution, which I owe as a pledge of my intention. Those who with the experience of the past meditate upon the present, and are more in the habit of analyzing the influence of administrative measures, will find in the simplicity of the principles that have been adopted the proof that I do not promise more than I think may be conveniently accomplished; that my object is to do good and not frustrate it; and that knowing in short the extent of my responsibility I have taken care to shape my duty by the law of circumstances in order not to expose myself to failure.

With such sentiments, and trusting in the efficacious cooperation of all my fellow-citizens I venture to hope that I may in time resign the trust with which I am charged, with the consciousness of having exercised it faithfully. If after delivering Peru from its oppressors I can leave it in the possession of its destiny, I will go to seek in private life the highest felicity, and will devote the rest of my days to contemplate the beneficence of the great Creator of the Universe, and renew my prayers for the continuation of his propitious influence over the lot of future generations.

Section First.—RELIGION.

ART. I. The Catholic Apostolic Roman Religion, is the religion of the State: the government recognises it as one of its first duties to maintain and preserve it by all the means which are within the reach of human prudence. Whoever shall attack its principles and dogmas publicly or privately shall be punished with severity in proportion to the scandal which may have been caused.

ART. II. Others who profess the Christian Religion and dissent from any of the doctrines of the religion of the state, may obtain permission from the government with consent of their council of state, to exercise the right asked, provided always that their conduct is not incompatible with public order.

ART. III. No one can be a public functionary unless he profess the religion of the state.

Section Second.—THE SOVEREIGN POWER.

ART. I. The supreme directive power of the free departments of the state of Peru, resides for the present in the Protector: his functions emanate from the empire of necessity, from the force of reason, and the exigency of the public good.

ART. II. The Protector of Peru is Generalissimo of the forces by sea and land; and it being his principal duty to liberate all the people who form an integral part of the territory of the state, he may augment or diminish the armed force as he judges convenient.

ART. III. He may impose contributions, establish duties, require loans to meet the public expenditure, with the advice of his council.

ART. IV. He will form regulations for the better service and organisation of the army and navy, comprehending in the former the state militia.

ART. V. He will regulate the internal and external commerce by those liberal principles on which the prosperity of a country essentially depends.

ART. VI. He will make what reforms he judges necessary in all the departments of the public administration, abolishing offices that existed in the ancient regime, and creating new ones.

ART. VII. He will establish a provisional coin for the state; but he will not alter the weight that has hitherto existed in the money of Peru.

ART. VIII. He will name the envoys and consuls to foreign courts, and promote the recognition of the Independence of Peru, adjusting all diplomatic and commercial treaties which may be consistent with the interests of the country,—all with the advice of his council of state.

ART. IX. He will be addressed by the title of "EXCELLENCY," which cannot be given to any other individual or body of men, excepting that which may be indicated as acquiring thus the dignity of government. All who before held this title shall henceforth have that of V. S. I.

Section Third.—SUBORDINATE AUTHORITIES.

ART. I. The ministers of state are in their respective departments, the immediate head of all the authorities which depend on each of them.

ART. II. They shall execute all orders, and address all communications in the name of the Protector within and beyond the territory of the state, under his responsibility and seal only: and both ought to be signed by the Protector in the book corresponding to each minister.

ART. III. The orders and regulations which the Protector may have issued for the reformation of the administration will be signed by him, and by the minister with whom he corresponds.

ART. IV. In communications with foreign governments, they shall address themselves to the minister who is competent, observing the same rule with respect to replies.

ART. V. All official communications shall be made directly to the ministers, observing the classification of the affairs in which they are concerned.

ART. VI. The title of the Ministers will be that of *Ilustrisimo*, and they will be addressed, "MOST ILLUSTRIOUS SIR."

Section Fourth.—THE COUNCIL OF STATE.

ART. I. There shall be a Council of State composed of twelve individuals, viz: The three ministers of state, the president of the high chamber of justice, the general in chief of the united army, the head of the E. M. G. of Peru, lieutenant general Conde de Valle Oselle, the dean of the holy church, field marshal the Marquis de Torre-Tagle, Count de la Vega and Count Torre-Velarde. The vacancies will be filled up successively as they occur.

ART. II. Its functions shall be as follows: To give its opinion to the government in all cases of difficulty; to examine the great plans of reform which the Protector has in contemplation: to make observations upon them, which may provide better for the public good, and to suggest whatever may be conducive to the prosperity of the country.

ART. III. The Council of State shall hold its sittings in the palace; and the Protector shall attend them when requisite, to resolve after consulting and discussing on difficult questions.

ART. IV. The Council of State shall nominate a secretary without vote, who shall draw up the resolutions which are approved of, and to be charged with reducing into writing the projects which are formed according to Article 2d.

ART. V. The Council shall meet as often as necessity requires; and the urgency of business will be the rule to be followed in prolonging or shortening their sittings.

ART. VI. The Council of State shall have the title of "EXCELLENCY."

Section Fifth.—PRESIDENTS OF THE DEPARTMENTS.

ART. I. The Presidents of the Departments are the immediate executors of the orders of the government in each of them respectively.

ART. II. Their particular functions are: To administer the financial concerns of the departments, to augment the military force in case of necessity as much as may be judged convenient; with the acquiescence of the Inspector General of civil affairs; to promote the prosperit

of the territory of the state, scrupulously marking the conduct of the officers in this important branch, and proposing to the government the reforms and improvements of which it may be susceptible according to the local circumstances of each department;—to take care that justice is impartially administered, and that all the public functionaries subordinate to them, discharge the duties with which they may be entrusted, punishing delinquents, and giving an account of them to the government.

ART. III. The Presidents are judges of police in the departments, and as such watch over the preservation of the public morals, over the institutions for the rudiments of education and its progress, and over all that relates to the advancement of the people and the health of the inhabitants.

ART. IV. The 6th, 6th and 9th Articles of the provisional regulation of Haura, of the 12th of February of this year, relative to the powers of the presidents of the departments, are sanctioned.

Section Sixth.—MUNICIPALITIES.

ART. I. The Municipalities shall subsist in the same form as hitherto, and the president of the department shall preside over them.

ART. II. The election of members of the municipal body from the ensuing year, shall be popular, conformably to a regulation to be issued separately.

ART. III. The title of the municipality of the capital shall be V. S. I. and that of all the others in the state V. S.

Section Seventh.—JUDICIAL POWER.

ART. I. The Judicial Power shall be administered by the High Chamber of Justice, and other inferior courts of judicature which now exist or may be afterwards established.

ART. II. The High Chamber of Justice shall have powers analogous to those possessed by what was called the Judicial Court of Andience; and besides it shall take cognisance for the present of the civil and criminal causes of consuls and foreign ambassadors, and public functionaries guilty of any dereliction of duty in the exercise of their authority. Its jurisdiction will for the present further extend to the cognisance of prizes made by the armed vessels of the state, and by those who may have obtained letters of marque according to the law of nations. The functions of the Tribunal of Mines are in the same manner absorbed in the High Chamber.

ART. III. The High Chamber shall nominate a commission composed of individuals of its own body and other lawyers distinguished for their integrity and intelligence, to form immediately a rule of administering justice, which may simplify that of all the inferior tribunals, which may have for its basis the equality that all citizens enjoy in the eye of the law, the abolition of the fees which judges received, and which are from this time finally prohibited. The same commission shall present a regulation for the settlement of the trial of prizes.

ART. IV. The members of the High Chamber shall hold their office during good behaviour. The title of the chamber shall be that of V. S. I.

Section Eighth.—RIGHTS OF CITIZENS.

ART. I. Every citizen has an equal right to preserve and defend his character, liberty, safety, property and existence, and cannot be deprived of any of those rights but by the decision of the competent authority pronounced according to the laws. Whoever may have been unjustly defrauded of these may demand redress from the government, and freely publish the proceeding which give occasion to his complaint through the medium of the press.

ART. II. The house of a citizen is a sanctuary which none dare violate without an express order of the government, issued after cognisance of the cause. When this condition is wanting—resistance is a right which legalises the acts that emanate therefrom. In the other departments the presidents are forbidden to grant search-warrants (*allanamientos*), and Governors and Lieutenant Governors can issue them only in cases of treason or sedition.

ART. III. By *Treason* is meant every machination in favor of the enemies of the independence of Peru: the crime of *SEDITION* only, consists in collecting an armed force in whatever number it may be, to resist the orders of the government, and stirring up the population or any part of it for the same purpose, and forming secret associations against the legitimate authorities. No one will be deemed seditious on account of the opinions he holds on political subjects, unless coupled with some one of the above circumstances.

ART. IV. The Liberty of the Press is sanctioned, under the rules prescribed by a separate enactment.

Section Ninth.—CITIZENSHIP.

ART. I. Citizens of Peru are those who have been, or may be, born in any of the states of America which have sworn independence of Spain.

ART. II. Other foreigners may be naturalised in the country, but cannot obtain the rights of citizens, except in those cases which are prescribed in the regulation published on the 4th instant and since sanctioned.

Section Last.

ART. I. All the laws enacted by the ancient government shall remain in full force except they be inconsistent with the independence of the country, with the forms adopted by this Constitution, and with the decrees or declarations which have been made by the existing government.

ART. II. The present Constitution shall remain in force till the whole territory of Peru declare its independence; in which event a General Congress shall be immediately convoked to establish the permanent constitution and form of government which is to rule the state.

Additional Articles.

ART. I. The Government, animated with a sentiment of justice and equity, acknowledges all the debts of the Spanish Government, that have not been contracted in maintaining the slavery of Peru, and in making war against the other independent people of America.

ART. II. The Protector will swear to the present Constitution as the fundamental basis of his duties, and as a guarantee which he gives the free people of Peru of the frankness of his views, and afterwards all the constituted authorities and citizens of the state shall swear for their part to obey the government and conform to the Provisional Constitution of Peru. In the other departments, the presidents shall take the oath before the municipalities, and in like manner shall all the functionaries and other citizens. The formula of the oaths to be taken, is as follows:

Oath of the Protector.

I swear by God and my Country, and pledge my honor, that I will faithfully execute the Provisional Constitution given by me for the better government and regulation of the free departments of Peru, until the permanent Constitution of the State is established; that I will defend its independence and liberty, and promote its happiness by every means within my reach.

Oath of the Ministers of State.

We swear to carry into execution the Provisional Constitution of Peru, and to cause it to be executed, and to discharge with all the zeal and rectitude which the public service requires, the duties imposed upon us by the commissions with which we are entrusted.

Oath of the Public Functionaries and other Citizens.

I swear by God and my Country to recognise and obey in every respect the Protectoral Government; to fulfill and cause to be fulfilled, as far as regards me, the Provisional Constitution of the free departments of Peru; to defend its independence, and zealously promote its prosperity.

Given at the
Protectoral Palace
of Lima on the 8th
of October 1821.

JOSE DE SAN MARTIN,
JUAN GARCIA DEL RIO,
BERNARDO MONTFAGUDO,
HIPOLITO UNANUE.

Mr. Godwin and Mr. Malthus.

The brief history of the controversy between Mr. Godwin and Mr. Malthus is this. The question concerning the relative powers of increase in mankind and the means of subsistence, discussed by a few refined speculators, lay as a remote and therefore uninteresting matter on the shelves of the curious, when Mr. Godwin published his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*. This work made a deep impression. It was copious yet methodical, warm yet dispassionate, intelligible yet profound. To use Mr. Malthus's own words "the system of equality which Mr. Godwin proposes, is, on a first view of it, the most beautiful and engaging of any that has yet appeared." The true happiness of mankind began to be understood, and the spirit of benevolence which till then had wandered in search of the means of gratifying its desires, appeared to have found an object and a path. Within a short period after the publication of *Political Justice*, Mr. Malthus published the first edition of his *Essay on the Principle of Population*, which was suggested, as he informs us in the preface, by a paper in Mr. Godwin's *Inquirer*, and his object in publishing which was "to apply it to try the truth of those speculations on the perfectibility of man and society, which at that time excited a considerable portion of the public attention."

Perhaps it may assist the reader if we present him in this place with a short synopsis of Mr. Malthus's book. He contends then—

First, That "there is a constant tendency in all animated life to increase beyond the nourishment prepared for it."

Secondly, That the rate at which mankind have the power and the tendency to increase, if not impeded by moral restraint, vice, and misery

* *Essay on Population*, Bk. 3, cap. 2, p. 244. —† *Essay*, Bk. 1, c. 1, p. 3.

is most probably greater than, but certainly equal to, doubling of any given number in 25 years; or increasing in a geometrical ratio.

Thirdly, That the utmost rate at which the means of subsistence can be increased under the most favourable circumstances is no more than equal to an addition to the bulk of the amount of the quantity now produced once in the same period (25 years); or increasing in an arithmetical ratio.

Fourthly, "That the checks which keep population down to the level of the means of subsistence, are moral restraint, vice, and misery."

These four are the premises from which Mr. Malthus draws the following conclusion:—

That any attempts to meliorate the condition of man by the introduction of a system of equality, would be attended with a redundancy of population, which, in its turn, would reproduce vice and misery in an aggravated degree, until the numbers of mankind were again reduced to the limit of the means of subsistence. To which conclusion there is this corollary, that vice and misery are necessary to and inseparable from the condition of man.

Now let the above, which may be said to be the marrow of Mr. Malthus's Essay, be attentively read, and we think that few persons will fail to perceive, that every one of the premises, as well as the conclusion is widely open to a refutation, both on its own separate account, and as it is connected with those that follow or precede it. Never, we believe did a book offer so many points of attack as this; and it being put forth, as he declares, "that there should be somewhere on record an answer to systems of equality founded on the principle of population" (by which we presume, although the construction of the sentence does not warrant the presumption, that the answer and not the system of equality should be founded on the principle of population) was a challenge not to be refused. The three first of his positions have not, we believe, been much if at all contested. The ratios have not to our knowledge been encountered before now. But that vice and misery were terms which defined every cause of a decrease, or rather non-increase of population, and that any attempt to remove these evils would be attended with the most fatal results, were propositions so new, so astounding, and so repugnant to every feeling which nature had implanted in our breasts, and every principle which education had fixed in our minds, that answers to this part of the Essay were many and able. Mr. Hazlitt handled it with "memorable severity" in 1804, and Mr. Cobbett dealt some parts of it a few heavy blows, in No. 33 of Vol. 34 of his *Weekly Register*. But it remained for Mr. Godwin, himself the first cause of this Essay's appearance in the world, to make an attack on its vital part.

It is the design of the *Enquiry concerning Population* to shew that Mr. Malthus's theory is false in *limine*; that the very first of his premises is not only totally unfounded, but directly contradicted by all the facts of which the history of past ages informs us; that is to say, that "the evidence which we have does not afford us any very strong proofs of a power of increase in the numbers of the human species, but tends very strongly to assure us that such power of increase is at all events subject to very strict limitation, and that we have nothing to fear for the well-being of any particular nation, or of the human species in general, from the operation of that power."

Now, although if the ratios could be proved, agreeably to the *Essay on Population*, all the inferences drawn therefrom would by no means follow, as any one may see by referring to our synopsis of the work; yet if it can be proved that the ratios do not exist, or at least if there is no proof of the superiority of the power and tendency of mankind to increase over that power in the means of subsistence, then Mr. Malthus's whole fabric (a house of cards Mr. Godwin calls it) must fall to the ground. Now let us examine on what the corner-stone of the Essay rests; what proofs are offered of the truth of the ratios. Will it be believed that the whole affair, assertion, proof, and all, lies in the compass of a few lines? One chapter of 16 pages contains the whole of the premises concerning both the ratio of increase in the numbers of mankind, and the ratio of increase in the means of subsistence; from which premises the three volumes of Mr. Malthus, are drawn. The increase of the population of North America, Mr. Malthus considers quite sufficient to prove the power of increase to be such as he has stated it; and as to the cause of that increase he contents himself with simply saying, that the increase has been repeatedly ascertained to be from procreation only. On this head, Mr. Godwin says,

"The hypothesis of the *Essay on Population* is this:—The human species doubles itself in the United States of America every twenty-five years: therefore it must have an inherent tendency so to double itself: therefore it would so double itself in the Old World.

were not the increase intercepted by causes which have not yet sufficiently engaged the attention of political enquirers. To clear up this point, let us consider how many children may be allowed to a marriage, upon the supposition that the object is barely to keep the numbers of the human species up to the present standard. In the first place, it is clear that every married pair may be allowed two upon an average, without any increase to the population, nay, with the certainty of diminution if they fall short of this. In the next place, it is unquestionable that every child that is born does not live to years of maturity, so as to be able to propagate its kind: for this condition is necessary, the children who die in their nonage plainly contributing nothing to the keeping up of the numbers of our species. I should have thought, therefore, that we might safely allow three children to every marriage without danger of overstocking the community. It will hereafter appear, that all political economists allow four, it being the result of various censuses and tables of population, that one-half of the born die under years of maturity. To this number of children to be allowed to every marriage upon an average, the purpose being barely to keep up the numbers of our species to the present standard, something must be added, in consideration of the known fact, that every man and woman do not marry, and thus put themselves in a road for continuing their species.

"When Mr. Malthus, therefore, requires us to believe in the geometrical ratio, or that the human species has a natural tendency to double itself every twenty-five years, he does nothing less, in other words, than require us to believe, that every marriage among human creatures produces upon an average, including the prolific marriages, those in which the husband or wife die in the vigour of their age or in the early years of their union, those in which the prolific power seems particularly limited, and the marriages that are totally barren, eight children.

"How comes it that neither this author nor any one for him has looked into this view of the question? There are such things as registers of marriages and births. To these it was natural for Mr. Malthus to have recourse for a correlative argument to support his hypothesis. The writer of the *Essay on Population* has resorted to certain statements of the population of the United States, and from them has inferred that the number of its citizens has doubled every twenty-five years, and, as he adds, "by procreation only:" that is, in other words, as we have shewn, that every marriage in America, and by parity of reasoning in all other parts of the world, produces, upon an average, eight children; for the difference between the United States and the Old World does not, I presume, lie in the superior fecundity of their women, but that a greater number of children are cut off in the Old World, in years of nonage, by vice and misery. We double very successfully (if they double) in the first period; but we do not, like them, rear our children to double over again in the second. Naturally, therefore, he would have produced a strong confirmation of his hypothesis, by shewing, from the registers of different parts of the world, or of different countries of Europe, that every marriage does upon an average produce eight children: and if he had done this, I think he would have saved me the trouble of writing this volume."

Mr. Godwin is not however content to dismiss the subject in a summary manner. In his first book he has very carefully and ably taken a view of the numbers of mankind in ancient and modern times, and illustrated the subject by references to China, India, South America, Sparta, and Rome; from all which it appears, that under circumstances the most favourable to population that can be conceived, the numbers of mankind have in no instance increased in any thing like a geometrical ratio, while in many they have considerably decreased, and in some almost to extinction. Sparta particularly affords a striking proof of the non-existence of the power of increase.

"An accurate and instructive experiment on the subject of population appears to be afforded us by the institutions of Sparta. There is nothing more memorable in the history of mankind, than the code of laws digested by Lycurgus for that people; and this code seems to have operated in full vigour for five hundred years. Lycurgus, we are told, divided the entire lands of the republic into 30,000 equal portions; of which 30,000 were distributed to the rural citizens of the estate, and 9,000 to the inhabitants of the capital. One of the leading principles of his code was to regard marriage as a duty, and the having of a family of children as honourable. The age of marriage was fixed, and is conjectured by Bartholemi to have been thirty for the male, and twenty for the female citizens.

"Here then, if any where, we may expect to find a nation, the population of which should increase at an extraordinary rate. There were no poor under the institutions of Lycurgus. All were fed at a common table; all slept in public dormitories. The citizens received every encouragement; nay, as it appears, were absolutely enjoined to marry; and they certainly felt no anxiety about the subsistence of their future offspring."

* Bk. 1, chap. 2, p. 34.

† Bk. 3, ch. 3, p. 271.—‡ Bk. 1, ch. 4, p. 27.

* Book 1. chap. x. p. 76.

But notwithstanding all this, the population of Sparta gradually declined. Various causes are assigned for this, but none which do not weaken the foundation of Mr. Malthus's theory. After stating these causes, as found in Thucydides and Aristotle, and shewing the amount of the decrease at various periods, Mr. Godwin concludes this chapter with saying?*

"We have here therefore an evidence, such as must be of great weight with every reasonable man, respecting the population or number of citizens of Sparta during the successive periods of the history of that republic. It is certain that Lycurgus employed every means he could devise to ensure a numerous and healthy population. He encouraged marriage: he fixed a stigma on celibacy; and he provided for the support and education of the children that should be born, from the funds of the public. His institutions continued unimpaired for the space of five hundred years. Yet it is apparent that 'the State perished through the diminution of its numbers.' During the interval in which Sparta makes the most splendid figure in the page of history, it was reduced to employ various expedients for the purpose of increasing the amount of its citizens by extrinsic accession. In the period of which Aristotle treats, the free inhabitants of the capital were reduced from ten thousand to one thousand men; and in the reign of the latter Agis, about one hundred years later than Aristotle, they counted no more than seven hundred citizens. These are phenomena which I conceive to be utterly incompatible with any hypothesis that affirms the rapid multiplication of the human species."

But Mr. Godwin has gone farther still, and lest an objection be raised on the uncertainty of our information respecting the countries mentioned in the first book, he has gone into a very elaborate discussion of the principle respecting the increase or decrease of the numbers of mankind, and in a most satisfactory manner illustrated his subject by a collection and tabular digest of the accounts of the population in Sweden, where more attention is paid to this branch of knowledge, and more accuracy of information is to be found, than in any other part of the world. Sweden, Mr. Godwin observes, is a *regis pene toto devota orbe*: it receives few emigrants, and it sends forth few colonies. In the periods to which the accounts relate, this kingdom has enjoyed a great portion of internal tranquillity, and has possessed almost every imaginable advantage for the increase of its inhabitants by direct procreation. Our limits do not allow us to enter into a detail of this part of the inquiry; but we would most earnestly direct the reader's attention to chap. 3, of the second book, which contains the clearest development of a most important principle affecting this part of the disquisition.

We must not omit stating, that the volume before us contains a very able, clear-headed dissertation on the ratios of increase in population and on the means of subsistence, by Mr. David Booth, formerly of Newburgh in the county of Fife, now of London. Indeed it may be said, that here is a book within a book; for had the dissertation stood alone, it would have formed a perfect answer to the theory of the *Essay on Population*. Here is no vague assertion, Mr. Booth has shown, with a perspicuity which cannot be too highly applauded, the weakness of the foundation on which Mr. Malthus erected his theory of the power of increase in mankind, and the close reasoning, patient investigation, and detail of Mr. Booth's dissertation, form a striking contrast to the slight, hasty, and unsupported opinions, which, by his own showing, form the whole of Mr. Malthus's authority. In justice to Mr. Booth, this dissertation should not be abridged; but we heartily recommend to the reader an attentive perusal of this part of the *Enquiry*, in which he will find a very luminous investigation of the power of increase in mankind, and a very satisfactory explanation of the mistake under which Mr. Malthus lies with respect to America, in calculating, from an actual gross increase, upon the certainty of this increase proceeding, without having paid due attention to the laws on which an increase of population depends.

We have before observed, that the *Essay on Population* was open to attack on many points. The ratios being demolished, and a new light thrown on the principles respecting the increase of the numbers of mankind, Mr. Godwin proceeds to examine the causes by which population is reduced, or restrained.

"That vice and misery have a share in keeping down the numbers of mankind, I will not deny. There may also be other causes, as yet little adverted to, which may be concerned in producing the same effect."

"The most obvious causes which all history forces upon our attention, are war, pestilence, and famine. And here I would distinguish between the two agents, which in Mr. Malthus's book are perpetually coupled, vice and misery; or, as I would rather denominate them, vice and the visitation of calamity. Pestilence is not vice; famine can scarcely deserve to be called by that name. War, therefore, of these three, is the agent for thinning the ranks of mankind, which is best entitled to be denominated vice."

* Book I. chap. x. p. 33.

"But how far are any of these concerned with a scarcity of the means of subsistence? Famine indeed is a sweeping name, which expresses that scarcity in its most aggravated degree. But pestilence—is that only a lack of the means of subsistence under another form? Is the yellow fever produced by hunger? When our devoted country in former centuries was so often visited with the plague, were Englishmen in greater comparative want of the means of subsistence than at present?"

"War is, of almost any examples that could be devised, well adapted to shew that Mr. Malthus's two propositions are of a very different import. Do men go to war because they want the means of subsistence? Far otherwise. War in civilized countries is the offspring of pride, of wantonness, and an artificial method of thinking and living. War cannot be carried on in such countries without a previous accumulation of the means of subsistence. Money, it has often been said, is the sinew of war. It would be more accurate to say, that provisions (*munitio de bouche*) are the sinews of war."

We make the next extract to shew a very important distinction which occurs in this part of the subject:—

"I would observe, by the way, that a want of the means of subsistence, and a want of the means which nature affords to men for obtaining provisions and subsistence, are by no means synonymous. Much of Mr. Malthus's strength lies in his ambiguities. 'When the whole earth has been cultivated like a garden,' we will suppose for a moment that this state of things puts a bar on the multiplication of mankind. But it is a very different question, and is well worthy of the enquiry of the political economist, why Turkey in Europe, Turkey in Asia, Persia, Egypt, and a multitude of other countries, are so thinly inhabited now, to what they were in the renowned periods of their ancient history. Certainly it is not because their soil is exhausted. Certainly it is not because another blade of corn refuses to grow on their surfaces. We may venture even in the infancy of the enquiry to assert, that the cause is to be found in the government and political administration of these countries. If a beneficent sovereign, the father of his people, were to arise among them,—if a great genius, who loved his fellow men, and in whom the ardour of his love generated enlightened attention, and fertilised the field of intellectual resources, were to mount the throne,—if such a one were to apply all his energies to make his country what it formerly was when it seemed to be the granary of the world, we may reasonably believe that his labours would not be in vain. The great mass of the people in the country would no longer be oppressed. Their sovereign, and, inspired by him, a long train of men in power inferior to the throne, would make it their ambition that each father of a family who desired it, should have a portion of land subject to his own providence and discretion, and should possess the means of rendering the land he owned available to the purposes of human prosperity. The energies of the inhabitants of the country would be called forth, and men from other regions would be invited to settle on this advantageous soil. Hence it appears, that it is ill government, and not a want of the means of subsistence, that renders these countries a permanent scene of desolation."

No person who has read the *Essay on population* requires to be reminded, that its whole theory rests on the truth of the increase of population in the United States of America, and its being by procreation only. Mr. Godwin has applied his whole strength to this part of the subject, and after what has been already said respecting the laws which regulate the increase of the numbers of mankind, it will, we are persuaded, require but little to convince a candid inquirer, that the increase in America cannot have happened by procreation only. Mr. Godwin proceeds, however, to shew that a very great delusion has existed with respect to America, and that the laws of increase developed by Mr. Booth, and which will account for a very great present increase, while they satisfy us that such increase cannot continue beyond a certain period, coupled with a most extensive emigration, afford an easy solution of that problem, which drove Mr. Malthus into his geometrical and arithmetical ratios.

On the whole, we cannot but say that we rejoice exceedingly in the appearance of this Reply to the *Essay on Population*, and hail it as the return of the genial warmth of human nature and the light of truth, after the intervention of a cold, unseasonable day, of shivering fears and cloudy apprehensions. In its pages we breathe the glow of benevolence once more sets our pulses beating, and lights up our countenances with cheerfulness and hope. Henceforth let us hear no more of the never-ending reign of Vice and Misery; but let Virtue still be believed in and followed as the safe, certain, and only road to happiness.*

J. C. H.

* We have given place to these portions only of two long Articles on this subject by a Correspondent of the EXAMINER; not because we concur in all the views of the Writer, but to let our Readers see what can be said in defence of Mr. Godwin, before we present them, as we intend to do, with an able Article on the other side of the question, from the last No. of the Edinburgh Review.—Ed.

* Book III. chap. I, p. 309.

ASIATIC DEPARTMENT.

—397—

CROMWELL,

OR THE HOUR BEFORE DUNBAR,

A Dramatic Sketch,—By Bernard Wycliffe.

Scene, the Interior of Cromwell's Tent, Lambert, Ingoldsby, Skippon, and other Officers, with Cromwell as if in Council.

CROMWELL.—I tell thee no! the Lord hath given me Most comfortable hope, a consolation Which dwelleth in my soul, as that bright light That cheer'd the lonely ark, when all around Was storm and desolation—they shall be A hissing and a curse—and smitten things The abomination of the mocking world. Oh! I have wrestled with the Holy One In sackcloth and in ashes, and with groans, To spare me from this sweet—yet bitter task: Sweet, as it is His will—but bitterer Than Sarah's wate's—for that I, a man, Must smite my erring fellows.—I have striven, Have pray'd and wrestled, but it may not be; I tell ye they must perish.

INGOLDSBY.—To my mind—

CROMWELL.—Why, how now? do I not affirm to you The Lord hath said, and we must do his will? Alas!—that it should be so—to thy mind! Why Dickon, art thou yet so young a Babe, In the deep mysteries of Heavenly grace, As still to think that human wit is aught Compared to that commission from above Which hath by special gift been pour'd on me, Vile and unworthy sinner as I am, Like an anointment of most precious ointment Forth from the phial of election?—No! I tell thee Dick,—but what availeth it To speak to sucklings, that are scarcely born Into the new and better life of grace. Go to—P'll parley with thy carnal ears— Quick order me six culverins to the height That overlooks the road—lengthen the trench Upon your dexter flank—I saw but now Some horsemen pricking forth to ascertain Our puissance there—and place a stand of pikes Down in the hollow by the hazle wood. Tell—psha!—what call you that same fellow's name, His name of grace I mean—the man who took The Flag at Marston—aye, aye, Inderston; “Fight lustily the good fight; Inderston,” To range his carbineers behind the brow Of the long hill—and Dickon, do you mind, Tell them to blow their matches presently— Away—yet stop—bid your own trumpeters Sound boot and saddle—let James Markham's horse Form in your rear—and—and—there's something else No matter—Oh!—remember thou, good Dick To pray and wrestle—yea—continually, For a more comfortable taste of grace— General Ingoldsby, you have leave to go—

INGOLD.—God keep your Excellence.

CROMWELL.—Is it not strange That men should thus debase a sacred term, And call a miserable worm like me By such a title?—but it is the will Of Him who made me a plain guileless man That such should be the fashion—I do bear This with all other evils, as it is A trial and a purifying fire Wholesome, though painful, to the inward man. Now, Sirs—you have your orders and your leave: Each to his several post.—Is there aught else?

SKIPPON.—Nothing, unless the thing which I have urged Should on reflection—

CROMWELL.—What, resign my guns, Embark my Foot, and with our weary Horse, Weary for want of battle, cut my way Back to the Tweed? No! here I'll perish first. I tell thee, Skippon, it were utter madness.

Again I tell thee—He is on our side. Come this way, hearken: to your private ear: I've had a comfortable sign of grace, Direct, good Skippon—even to my soul, My worthless sinful soul: let that suffice— But were it not so, why your London wives Would smite us with their distaffs on the back The coward's blow, and we should all deserve it. The very children in the hissing crowd Would spit on us and mock us, and do well. No, never shall a flag of mine be turn'd Before pursuing Foe; for ever yet In the tumultuous battle it hath held Its Lion path straight on to Victory

LAMBERT.—But General—

CROMWELL.—What! hast not other term For the Chief Captain of the Commonwealth? General Lambert, you forget your station, In envy, perhaps, of mine; yet God doth know How joyfully I would resign the weight Of this abhor'd distinction, and I might: But while I hold it by the Commons' voice, And by the Lord's especial countenance, I will be both respected and obey'd! By you, Sir, and by every man alive, By Commons, and by Kings,—in England here, And in the remotest corners of the earth. Who dares to scorn it, he had better scorn The Lion or the Thunderbolt—ye know me!

LAMBERT.—May't please your Excellency—pardon,

CROMWELL.—I'm warm perchance from feeling that I am A man of simple and of single mind Easily led and play'd on—and I think That men do see this too—and seeing it Would vantage take of mine infirmity. To treat me as a man—faith, I care not. Ah! you should call me Noll, like the Maliguants, But that the nation gave me other title.— But, brethren, in a good and sacred cause, I more am vex'd to see your want of faith. Must I again repeat that He hath given Their host into mine hand—e'en as the bird Is given to the wily fowler's snare. And now retire—for I am feign to hold Some private wrestling with my troubled spirit, Troubled for you, ye men of little faith. Farewell—a little while and ye shall see Those Scotch descending from their trenc'd posts E'en as their Highland mists, before the sun, Roll thin and scatter'd down the mountain's side. Each to his charge—watch warily, and pray, For prayer is all in all—once more, farewell. In self-abasement, I will seek the Lord.

ALL.—Farewell, and God preserve your Excellence

[Exeunt General, &c.]

Cromwell alone.

CROMWELL.—They're gone—gone unconvinced, but I'm convinced! Of what? of utter, hopeless, desperate ruin— In vain I seek in my bewilderd mind Some clue to guide me in this tangled path Which leads to—hah!—to death!—And have I faced The Tyrant Phantom in a hundred fields, Nor quail'd beneath his frown, to shun him now? No!—by the hopes, the mighty hopes which led My steady and triumphant steps to this My proper station:—mine—how long to be so? Aye, there's the pang—Oh! I could part from life As doth the gamester from an oft-risk'd stake; But to resign this rich, this sweet reward Of many a labour'd plan and stubborn field—

[Kneels, as if in prayer]

Lord, Lord, it shall not be—slay me at once; But slay me ere I fall: let me not live A bye-word and a mockery—No reply— I tell thee, Lord, that I will strive with thee, And wrestle, as the patriarch did, of old With thy earth-visiting angel—ere thou fix This heavy yoke upon me—Oh! I remember My prayers, my watchings, and that saving faith,

Which once like sunshine fill'd my inmost soul.
Remember all the weary hours I've spent
To clear from this so long o'ershadow'd land,
Each shoot and scion of that cursed tree
Whose roots are fed with blood—whose fruit is death—
Whose branches, waving from the seven-hill'd seat
Of Antichrist—have darken'd all the world,
Like a wide spreading deadly pestilence.
Oh! Lord remember!—hah!—thou dost reply
My prayers are heard!—no!—not one blessed ray
To cheer the darkness of my struggling soul,
Yet once again—I do beseech thee.

(pauses and springs up)

Hell!

Alack, that I should swear a carnal oath—
I am grown dotard in adversity.
Is this a time for prayer, or have I turn'd
A self-deceiver—deeming like those fools
On yonder hill that God will pluck the fruit
And place it in mine hand—and crush the grape
Whilst I have nought to do but hold the cup
Until it fills—even to overflow?—
This is no time for pious exercise,
For wrestlings and for self-examinings:
They're good for calmer hours—aye, very good,
But I must act, not saint but soldier, now—
Aye and that suddenly—stay—Let me think:
If I can reach the Borders with the Horse.
The Foot—yes—they had better land at Hull
I'll join them—so but Lambert goes with me,
I cannot trust him—Skippon—he's a dunce
A fighting dunce tho'—useful in his way.
He must command my rear Guard; men like him
Are fit for nothing but to save their betters—
Dick Ingoldsby shall post away to night
Straight to the city and secure all there.
Ireton can land in Wales, and make all sure
Amongst those tameless spirits: shoot a score
Of the suspected, it will scare the rest,
The exigency must bear out the deed:
But Ireton has scruples—'tis no matter;
My fall but argues his—he'll think of that
Till he forget his scruples—But the North!
Aye there's the pestilent storehouse, and the hive
Of those unholy godless Philistines,
The black Malignants—but I'll look to them.
The Parliament—I'll think of that anon
They will demand my life—I'll offer it—
Aye, at the head of twenty thousand men
'T will come to that at last—so far all's safe.

(pauses, as if thinking, then suddenly)

Curse on their shrinking hearts that fail me now!
Oh! could I rouse their English blood within them,
Their antient battle blood, which was so hot
At Naseby and at Marston, I would lead
My veterans against those sculking Scots,
And rout them from their burrows, where, like moles,
They hide themselves from battle—Oh! I've seen
The day when such was but an easy task
To hearts and hands like those which follow'd me
At Newport and Tredagh—Ah! they are gone
Mine iron soldiers—sword and pestilence,
Hard marches—bloody leaguers—stubborn fields
Have swept them from the earth—as winter blasts
Scatter old forest trees—perhaps 'tis better
If I but win this east without their aid,
For they had foolish notions of mens' rights
And Liberty—which scarce would suit my end,
If the prophetic bodings of my soul,
And the pale phantom of my early days
Speak me not false—aye, aye, 'tis better so—
But should I fail in this life-staking game—
Why—then—the forfeit 's life—and there's an end,
But 'tis a forfeit for no winner's hand;
Mine own, that hath defended it so well,
In many a red field, shall give the prize
To fate—for fate alone must vanquish Cromwell.
And yet—I have no warrant for a deed
That cannot be repented. But they say,
Aye, Goodwin said—"That soul which once had been
Elected unto grace could never suffer
The doom of final reprobation;
"Though after failings might perchance delay

"The operations of the saving power,"
Well, then, so far I'm safe—for I am sure
That once I had a special call of Grace,
Which came more softly down upon my soul
Than moonlight dew upon a bed of flowers.
—Yes—I am safe—for I have had my call.
So let whate'er betide, my doom is still
In the sole hands which should accomplish it.
For, by Saint Mark! I will not live to be
The bye-word of the things that creep around me,
And now stand mute in wonder at my sight.
I will not live to hear myself proclaimed
An unsuccessful Traitor by the mob,
Who late throng'd shouting from their filthy dens
And charg'd the winds with my triumphant name
To waft it to the limits of the world.
No! I've a remedy 'gainst that—'tis here.

(laying his hand on his pistol)

Ha! what is that?—a noise—it comes this way,
They must not find me thus—to prayer, to prayer (kneels)

(Enter hastily several Officers)

ALL—General—My Lord

CROMWELL.—Alas! what call is this
That leads my spirit back to sinful earth? (rises)
Oh! I have had a most sweet exercise,
And comfortable strengthening of the Faith.

ALL—The Scots, my Lord, have broken up their Camp.

CROMWELL.—What?—say't again!—they cannot be so mad!
Is David Leslie dead?—they're stark distraught—
And yet—no—no—they're not—it is the Lord
That drives this wicked flock unto its doom:
Said I not He would give them to mine hand?
Hah—unbelievers!—say, how moves their host?

OFFICER—Right upon ours

CROMWELL.—Praise!—I ask no more
My blood's on fire, and tingles in my veins
Like that of lusty youth—Ho!—Gervaise, there!
Bring out "God's Gift," my own bold battle steed,
He'll bear me to another Triumph yet,
Look to my girths—Hubert, my morion—quick,
No, I will fight without to-day—my men
Shall see their Leader's face, and it shall be
To them as that of Moses to the tribes
When they smote Amalek—My horse, I say.
Said I not He would give them to mine hand.
Go Farley, range the Falconers in line
Across the high road—set a stand of Pikes
Close in their rear—The Train band Musqueteers
May line the hedges—bid them not give fire
Unless the Northern Horse should charge our guns.
Away—away—but stay—yon'd better ride—
No—nothing—quick begone—I'll go myself—
Where is my sweet son, Fleetwood? Oh good soul!
"Seeking the Lord," perchance—go bid him use
More carnal weapons than his endless prayers
If he would prosper now—Tell him, good Blount,
To get his line in order, taking care
To keep the hazle wood upon his flank.
I'll order more when I come down—away!
Where's Amos Jephson?

OFFICER—ranging his Brigade,

CROMWELL.—Bid him to mind he does not breathe his nags
Before he charges—Hark! their Trumpets sound!
Their Scottish Trumpets!—Welcome, welcome, notes
Sweeter to me than the rich southern breeze
Of England's summer—Ho! my horse, I say!
Lambert, I think you have our battle plan

LAMBERT.—I have, your Excellence.

CROMWELL.—nay, mock me not,
Call me your Comrade, worthy gallant Soldier;
Oh Lambert! I do love thee heart and soul;
And have an eye to thine advancement, man,
Remember this—where fight the Highland clans?

OFFICER—Upon the left

CROMWELL.—Good Lambert, take the Horse,
Salmon's, and Mason's, and your own Brigade;
And when my Brother Desborough shall dash back
Those mountain kernes, then in upon them, Lambert,

Slash them to pieces—they're Malignants all.
The Lord hath said it—Cut them into atoms.
Dispose of them, and leave the rest to me.
Oh! Ned Ireton!—Have they brought "God's Gift,"
How he would glory in a day like this!
Order George Monk to lead the Vanguard on
And halt them in the valley—If attack'd,
He knows his orders—and, by holy Mark,
He is a Soldier that needs small instruction.
Tush—I'd forgotten one thing—bid the men
Strike up the Thirty-seventh Psalm—To horse! to horse!

[*Exeunt omnes.*]

A Friendly, but Severe Reproof.

Sir, To the Editor of the Calcutta Journal.

I confess myself often much gratified with the Extracts in the CALCUTTA JOURNAL from the English Papers, which are generally selected with great taste and judgement. I do not allude to those foaming effusions of party-spirit which too often disgrace its pages, and some of which, from my regard for the Editor of so respectable a publication, I could heartily wish had been allowed to remain in those licentious and diabolical Prints which are so openly employed *ad captum vulgi*; and which are at once the scorn and detestation of every good and liberal man of every party. The Selections which please me, and which I should think must be acceptable to all readers of taste or feeling, are those on Literary Subjects, and which for the most part are such as would enrich any Miscellany in Europe. That the CALCUTTA JOURNAL is not only the most popular, but by far the most ably conducted Paper in this country, it would be utterly impossible for the most inveterate envy to deny; and I feel that I shall be paying its Editor a just and perhaps not unacceptable compliment by affirming (what I really think) that he will insert this Letter without considering the writer of it a malicious detractor from its well earned fame.

Believe me, Sir, I am no enemy to Liberty; I should blush to be thought so;—but I detest *Licentiousness*. I do not mean to insinuate that you have been guilty of the latter. The EDITORIAL REMARKS in the JOURNAL are manly and honorable; and I do not remember ONE to the justice of which I would not most readily and implicitly subscribe. On the contrary, I admire your Political Creed, and consider you to be a true Patriot, fervent and sincere in the great cause of Liberty. But Enthusiasm is apt to warp the judgement, and engender exclusive partiality, of which you, Sir, are an instance. You do not stop to distinguish the friend from the foe, the free from the licentious, the brave man from the bully. When you hear a blustering malcontent spouting about the rights of mankind, you cannot suspect him of counterfeiting a passion to which your own feelings are an echo; and your partiality for the cause makes you blind to the grossest blemishes in the characters of its advocates. You are endowed with an over-plus of the lofty spirit of Independence, which

"Britons prize too high"—and which not only
"Keeps man from man, and breaks the social tie,"

but works up the feelings to a pitch of chivalrous indignation which burns to revenge or redress insults, oppressions, or abuses, which exist only in the heated imagination of the Enthusiast, who, like the valiant Knight of La Mancha, mistakes harmless flocks of sheep with the bells jingling on their necks for threatening armies advancing in all the "pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war." But after all, these are the impulses and delusions of a lofty and generous spirit, which will enforce admiration and love, even from those who are most convinced of its combatting a shadow.

The Public are certainly greatly indebted to your excellent JOURNAL (for excellent it is, notwithstanding some faults,) for much valuable and interesting information of a Literary nature. But even here, I regret to observe, your good taste is sometimes sacrificed to *political partiality*. To prove this, I could instance some articles from the EXAMINER, which have lately appeared in the JOURNAL, and disgraced its pages, and which I am sure would not have found a place had they not been the productions of that King of Radicals—LEIGH HUNT. It is too well known that that clever but conceited Cockney is a depraved and worthless character, who is quite incapable of cherishing the slightest good will or admiration for men of the most undoubted genius, unless like him they have prostituted their talents in the cause of Jacobinism or Immorality. I will not insult your understanding or feelings by supposing that *unbiased by political partiality*, you would have inserted, much less approved of, the cold, contemptuous, and illiberal observations with which the Libeller of his Sovereign has dared "to hesitate dislike" and "damn with faint praise" the poetical character of BOWLES, without exception the most decidedly classical and pathetic Poet of the age! and in every respect immeasurably his superior. Had he presented a Lock of Milton's Hair or a Crown of Ivy to the King of the Cockneys, how differently had he been treated by the Royal Critic.

But is it wonderful that the Author of RIMINY and the EXAMINER, the factious demagogue and the varnisher of crimes, who scoffs and sneers at every advocate of religion, morality, or order,—I repeat, is it wonderful that such a wretch should acknowledge no sympathies either poetical or personal with the Poet and the Christian, who has shewn himself to be not only an abominator of irreligion, incest, and faction, but an able defender, and an upright example of piety, order, and virtue? Besides, what is there in LEIGH HUNT that can be said in any way to qualify him for the profession of a Critic? A senseless, tasteless, illiberal, affected, egotistical, versifier! the crouching orator and the hypocritical champion of a rebellious rabble, who administers to and partakes their most depraved and degrading appetencies; and then, in his vanity and simplicity, mistakes their vociferous acclamations for the voice of Fame. What can such a man be supposed to possess in common with the great Master Spirits of the age? To enable him to form any thing like a correct estimate of the relative merits of their Poetry, he should share the hallowed and lofty feelings of their unearthly tempers, or the "thoughts that do lie too deep for tears." When his soul should be swelling with the high aspirations of a BYRON, or luxuriating amid the wild visions and fine imaginings of a COLERIDGE, or every pulse in his heart be vibrating to the holy and melancholy music of a BOWLES or a WORDSWORTH, he, alas! would be listening with ideotic self-complacency to the buzz of "pimpled Hazlitt's" silver-tongued flattery; or perchance with "perked up mouth" and "glad grateful stare," the Ruler of Cockaigne might be receiving with native dignity "all lightsomely dropping in his lordly back," the shouts of his idolizing subjects, the raving applauses of the maddened and deluded mob, who are hapsly in their enlightened enthusiasm crowding around the Examiner Office, and stunning the Printer's Devils with cries of "Hunt for ever."

I am, Sir, with all sincerity,

Camp, Tchree.

A TRUE FRIEND.

NOTE OF THE EDITOR.

Bolingbroke says "Opinion is involuntary, and no man has a right to be offended with me for differing with him, any more than I have a right to be offended with him for differing with me." Concurring in this sentiment, we have given insertion to the preceding Letter, without hesitation;—and much as we differ in opinion from its Writer in some particulars, we cannot but thank him for his efforts to set us right, and appreciate the kindness of his motives. That the tastes and opinions of mankind vary as much as their stature and complexion, is beyond doubt; and as these are equally involuntary in their origin, though the former are more susceptible of change than the latter, it is not to be expected that perfect unanimity should ever prevail on any matter not mathematically demonstrable or strictly cognizable by the senses. On the properties of the circle or the square, on the existence of light or darkness, on the relative magnitudes of objects &c. we are all agreed; but what is "Liberty" and what "Licentiousness"—what are "the foaming effusions of party spirit," and what "the glow of genuine patriotism" men of opposite opinions will never perfectly agree. The Writer of the preceding Letter says, that our Literary Selections please him most. We have no hesitation in avowing that they are on the whole the most valuable and most agreeable portions, in our estimation also. But we know that numerically we have more than ten to one of our Subscribers against us in this matter, and that this large majority look on the Literary Selections as so much space taken from what ought to be given to Political subjects. The Sunday Number that was once published and devoted wholly to subjects of Literature, Science, and the Arts, though containing the most careful selection of the best things on each, was deemed so unpalatable, that when it was made optional with Subscribers whether it should be supplied with the Daily Paper or not, it was given up by so many that its circulation did not pay its expence, though the Political Journal increased its circulation with every succeeding month. This fact speaks volumes as to the diversity of taste, and ought to make our Correspondent doubt whether in the present instance of his political abhorrence he may not be equally in the minority, as in the preference for Literary subjects.

That we have our political partialities, is most true; and we should be as sorry to be without these, as we should without our religious or our moral preferences for one code of faith and conduct over all others. Indeed we do not understand how any person of mature age and habits of reflection can be neutral in either. If these partialities be for the right side in each (and who shall determine whether they are so or not?) then all the bias that they give us towards certain opinions springing therefrom must be an advantage rather than an evil. If the bias be on the wrong side, the converse of the position will be equally true; but this is a point on which men will never agree!—because the only reason why we prefer one opinion to another is because we deem it more just and true, and we can never CHANGE that opinion (however timid men may conceal and hypocrites belie it) until we meet with some other that appears to us more true and more just still. Hence it follows,

that whatever opinions are professed by any set of men, if they are sincere in their professions, they must believe those opinions to be more true and more just than all others, or they could not have adopted them; for it is no more a matter of choice, which opinion we will adopt, than it is a matter of choice whether we will regard the moon as white or green;—we must see the one as our faculties of perception and reasoning present it to us, as much as we are compelled to regard the other in the hue in which our visual organs behold it.

It of course, however, always remains open to fair discussion and argument to shew that certain opinions are based on a more slender foundation than others, or that they are wholly unsupported by reason, as well as to point out the better tendency of certain doctrines in their bearing on the liberties and happiness of man, and the evil drift of others. But calling the professors of any particular opinions, be they right or wrong, by offensive names, will not do;—and to attain just views either in Politics, Religion, or Morals, we are satisfied that the best way is to keep names as much as possible out of the question. It is not because the beautiful maxims of Christianity are contained in the Scriptures that they are more excellent than all other maxims;—but because of their intrinsic justice, benevolence, and adaptation to the happiness of mankind. Nor is it because Chatham, Burke, or Fox professed certain opinions in Politics that we venerate them; but because the opinions themselves appear to us just and true, their value being the same to us whether they appear in the writings of the greatest or of the most contemptible characters of the day. A truth is not the more true because it comes from Bacon, Locke, or Newton;—nor is it the less true because it comes from Cobbett, Hunt, or Paine. An infinite deal of mischief arises from this association of men with things, and of names with opinions, which we should do well to avoid as much as possible, and not characterize the same sentiment when it comes from one man, as “pure and genuine patriotism,” and from another as the “blustering of a malcontent spouting about the rights of mankind.”

Of the private character of LEIGH HUNT we know positively nothing. Of his Paper, the EXAMINER, we think it much inferior to the SCOTSMAN, TIMES, or MORNING CHRONICLE;—but we think it superior to many even on the same side of Politics. It is better, for instance, than the CHAMPION, the INDEPENDENT WHIG, the NEWS, or the STATESMAN; and because of that very bias which we ourselves avow, we regard it as much superior to the COURIER, NEW TIMES, MORNING POST, GUARDIAN, TRUE BRITON, or JOHN BULL. By these last, the EXAMINER is represented as every thing that is abominable, and its Editor as all that is infamous and inhuman. But we do not therefore believe this. We read and think for ourselves; and we are free to confess, that we have never yet seen in the EXAMINER, any contempt for pure religion, any advocate of incest, any applause of immorality, or any detestation of virtue. When these charges can be substantiated, we should condemn so much of its writings as partook of these vices; but we have never yet looked into a single Number of the EXAMINER that we did not see much more to commend than to blame; and as long as we exercise the same discretion in selecting from that Paper as we should do from any other, we think we shall discharge our duty.

It appears to us, from the unqualified reprobation with which Mr. LEIGH HUNT is spoken of by our Correspondent, that he must be personally inimical to him, and be acquainted with circumstances of which we are wholly ignorant. We know nothing of him but through his Paper, and we select from that as we do from every other that falls in our way, whatever may appear to us likely to give our Readers a picture of the feelings and opinions of certain writers at home, indicating generally the name of the Paper from whence the Extracts are taken, for the express purpose of assisting them the more accurately to appreciate these according to the quarter from whence they come: though, as we said before, this has little or no influence with us, as we value opinions for their apparent worth, according to our estimation, and not at all for the authority from which we obtain them.

If Milton were now alive, and were to write the prose compositions which we owe to his immortal pen, he would no doubt be called a “Radical,” and Locke perhaps would be styled the “King of the Radicals.” Lord Erskine is called a “Demagogue,” Sir Francis Bardsell a “Factional Rebel.” The Duke of Richmond and Sir William Jones were the very “Leaders of Radicalism.” Fox was called a “Jacobin,” Mr. Hobhouse is termed a “Leveller.” In short, if mere names were of any weight or importance, there is perhaps hardly a man breathing who has not been branded at some time or other of his career, either in public or private, with the most uncourteous epithet that could be uttered: though on the other hand there is perhaps hardly one, who in the eyes of some individual has not appeared to be the perfection of his species. Nothing therefore can be so injudicious as to suppose that the phrase of “pimpled Hazlitt” is to destroy at once all the talent and truth of that writer’s lucubrations; or because Mr. Hunt has a “perked up mouth” and a “grateful stare” that therefore his opinions are contemptible. Still less can it be to his discredit that multitudes have shouted “Hunt for ever!” because, changing the name only, this cry has been raised in favor of the

greatest as well as the least of public characters; Kings, Dukes, Lords, and Citizens, alike. If it be of any value in one case, it may be equally so in another; and it must be a strong bias indeed that could lead us to think such shouts, when applied to one man, of inestimable value, and to another as worse than worthless. We do not attach any importance to such expressions in either case; because not one hundredth part of any multitude cry out at all, and those who do, as frequently shout for the sake of making a noise as for any other purpose. The writer appears to us to confound Mr. Hunt the Orator with Mr. Hunt the Editor, who, we believe, are not even related to each other: but what we have said we mean to apply to all men generally, whatever their name, rank, or station. Let us know the act done, or the opinion professed by any man, from the King to the lowest peasant in the realm, and, without reference to his name or character, that act or that opinion should be judged as to the benefit or injury of the one, and the truth or fallacy of the other. It is in this spirit that our Laws are administered, and it is in this spirit also that, as we desire to be judged, so we would judge others.

We end, however as we began, by thanking the writer for his endeavours to remove what he considers a blemish. We believe those are the truest and best friends who act with the greatest sincerity;—and we regard him therefore as really deserving the appellation he assumes. As, however, there are other Readers, whose tastes and opinions may not be always in unison with his own, but who will be quite as much disposed to blame us for our Editorial Strictures, of which he approves, as he is to censure Selections which others value; so we can only recommend the exercise of that mutual forbearance and charity which is requisite to bear most men well through life, but for which the Editor of a Public Journal has hourly claims on all his readers, few of whom are open to his animadversions, though he is liable to the censure of all; none of whom are compelled to tell him the opinions they entertain, though he is compelled to tell them his on almost every question of policy that is agitated. That any man, subject to the ordinary frailties of humanity, should be under the necessity of furnishing to some thousands of Readers every day a compendium of information, that weary days and sleepless nights must be exhausted to provide, and not displease some by his freedom, others by his warmth, some by his taste, and others by his judgement, would be a miracle indeed. To this, no man could attain. There are various accidents of sickness, hurry, engagements, and failure of accustomed aid that the world know nothing of. They require every morning a JOURNAL, as full of information, instruction, and entertainment as on the preceding day; and any errors or deviations of a striking nature are sure to be commented on. Of the satisfaction, however, nothing is heard. Silence and the absence of complaint is the only indication of this, unless indeed the continued attachment of the old, and a constant accession of new readers may be construed into an assurance of public approbation; this we enjoy to an extent as unparalleled as it was unexpected, and our highest ambition will ever be to retain and deserve it.

Shipping Intelligence.

CALCUTTA ARRIVALS.

Date	Names of Vessels	Flags	Commanders	From Whence	Left
April 5	Ann	British	R. H. Gibson	Singapore	March 14
5	McCauly	British	W. Foster	Batavia	Jan. 30

The H. C. Ship GENERAL HARRIS arrived at Penang on the 16th March, from China, with Mr. Charles Palmer and other Passengers, who proceed on the HEROINE.—The Supra-Cargoes had returned to Canton, and the late unpleasant affair was finally settled. Neither the GENERAL HARRIS nor—(name blank)—could obtain cargoes, owing to the scarcity of Teas, and lateness of the season: whether she (the GENERAL HARRIS,) remains at Penang or sails for the Coast is not known. The HEROINE and FERGUSON may be shortly expected, with the remainder of the Troops.—The Ship JOHN ADAM (with the Mission for Siam) sailed from Singapore on the 24th of February: the EXMOUTH had sailed for Rhio, and the EDMONSTONE for Rangoon. The GEORGIANA had grounded in the Straits of Rhio, but succeeded in getting off, after putting her Cargo on board the MARGARET, Free Trader, which ship left Singapore for that purpose.—The GEORGE CRUTTENDEN also knocked her false keel off, on the same rock on which the GEORGIANA struck,—she proceeded, however, on her Voyage.

Passengers per McCAULY, from Penang.—Captain George Vine, Mr. Thomas More, Mariner, Messrs. C. A. Murphy, James Davenport, and J. Wigmore.—Passengers per ANN, Captain R. H. Gibson, from Singapore the 14th of March, and Malacca the 17th ditto.—Captain John Seppings, 20th Regiment of Native Infantry, Mr. Thomas Pendergast, Surgeon, 32d Troops and Followers.

Birth.

On the 5th instant, the Lady of Dr. WILLIAM RUSSELL, of a Son.